

A
LETTER
TO THE
PRINCE OF WALES,
IN CONSEQUENCE OF
A SECOND APPLICATION
TO
Parliament,
For the Payment of Debts *wantonly* contracted
since May 1787.

" His Majesty could not, however, *expect* or *desire* the assistance of this House, but on a *well grounded expectation* that the Prince will avoid contracting any Debts in future."

Message from the King to the Commons of Great-Britain, May 21, 1787.

" I feel a zeal to the full as warm and as sincere for the preservation of the Hereditary Monarchy as any man in England, but the best way to preserve it, Sir, is to prevent its being oppressive to the People."

Vide the speech of Mr. James Martin, in the House of Commons, on Monday, Ap. 27, 1795.

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PREFACE.

London, May 9, 1784.

The following pages were sent by the post to the publisher, accompanied by a request that he would instantly get them printed. On receiving this requisition, he replied to me, inquiring the design he had formed of reprinting some letters addressed to the Prince of Wales in 1784, under the signature of Montesquieu, and which were, at that time, extremely popular. On a perusal of them, that they contained matter which well deserved the attention of His Royal Highness, and which (by omitting some circumstances applicable to the politics of the day) might be acceptable to those who estimate the importance of Princes, not by their titles, but their virtues; and who reverence men for their good qualities rather

PREFACE.

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The following pages were sent by the post to the publisher, accompanied by a request that he would instantly get them printed. On receiving this requisition, he resolved to relinquish the design he had formed of reprinting some letters addressed to the Prince of Wales in 1784, under the signature of Neptune, and which were, at that time, extremely popular; but finding, on a re-perusal of them, that they contained matter which well deserved the attention of His Royal Highness, and which (by omitting some circumstances applicable to the politics of the day) might be acceptable to those who estimate the importance of Princes, not by their titles, but their virtues; and who reverence men for their good qualities rather

than for their rank or good fortune ; the publisher has, in some degree, pursued his original plan, by annexing the letters in question, (reduced into one) to the following address, the Author of which, it is hoped, will pardon the freedom that has been taken with his very judicious and seasonable remonstrance, and which has been taken with no other view than to rescue the country from the extortion of those from whom better conduct is expected, and whose example cannot fail of having a very considerable influence on the morals and manners of the nation.

TO THE
PRINCE OF WALES,

&c. &c. &c.

May 1, 1793.

SIR,

IT is sincerely to be lamented, that amidst the various descriptions of people with whom your Royal Highness has associated, that none of them have had the virtue to impress upon your mind the necessity of confirming the assurance given by His Majesty in 1787, that *you would avoid contracting any debts in future*; and it is no less to be regretted, that the force and importance of the truth contained in the speech prefixed to this letter was never suggested to you by those whose personal interests alone required that rectitude and propriety should mark every action of your life. The familiarities to which most of them have been admitted, and the confidence with which many of them have been indulged, would have authorised an admonition so deserving of your attention, and so intimately connected with your honor and happiness. — Duty, as well as friendship, would have justified the freedom of such salutary advice,

and a very trifling attention on your part, would have preserved you from the disgraceful humiliation of having publicly received it in the severe and poignant language of well merited reproof. Unhappily for the credit of your own reputation, (and no less so for the country which maintains you in splendor) many of those whom it was your misfortune to select for companions, imagined they had an interest in deceiving you, while others, vain, abject and profligate, courted your favor by flattering your follies, and administering to your irregularities! I will venture to assert, Sir, that there is only *one* opinion throughout the British Empire, not only with respect to the general tenor of your conduct and the injustice of the claim which has been injudiciously, not to say indecently, made on the abused generosity of the nation, but (which is of much greater consequence to your character) with regard to the *principles* and *sentiments* from which *that* conduct has unfortunately resulted. This opinion, Sir, however it may offend you, has been publicly announced to the world, not through the questionable medium of our public prints, nor by the idle and loose conversations of interested individuals, influenced by private pique; nor by the disaffected few who, enemies to Royalty, behold with malignant joy those improvident actions of yourself and family which have a direct tendency to

to bring Monarchy into hazard and contempt, and from which more danger to our civil establishments is to be apprehended than from all the inflammatory writings of all the incendiaries with which the French revolution has delug'd Europe — BUT BY THE COMMONS OF GREAT BRITAIN IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED! It is the British House of Commons, Sir, (the most valuable and most important branch of our legislature) that, by unanimously hesitating (without a full attendance of its Members) to discharge debts for which it is almost to be wished you were personally responsible, has tacitly acknowledged you are unworthy of the farther liberality of your country. If the call of the House so judiciously insisted upon by Colonel Stanley, and so prudently acceded to by the Minister, should be considered as a personal disrespect, if your pride should be offended at the check it has happily received from the demur to a request at once unreasonable and ill-timed, it may be proper to enquire what right you had to expect a compliance after a conduct so indiscreet (to speak with extreme tenderness of it,) and which has been so obviously incompatible with every obligation that you owe to yourself and the nation? If you imagine, Sir, that the accident of your birth conferred on you the right to squander in every species of licentious dissipation the revenues of the country,

If you think yourself entitled, from your exalted rank, to levy contributions on our wealth and industry, and to render Parliament the mean and servile instrument of your exactions, it is full time that your Royal Highness should be undeceived with respect to the equity of your pretensions, and the extent of your power. It is full time that you should know how very much your fortune and your happiness depend upon a correct and temperate conduct, and that it was owing to the scandalous waste, profligacy and profusion of the Court of Versailles and of its worthless Princes, that the former has been deservedly annihilated, and the latter become despicable and degraded vagabonds; harrassed and driven from state to state, penniless, friendless, and despised without the most distant prospect of ever regaining either a comfortable or a permanent establishment. A very few years are elapsed since these men lived in a stile of splendor and magnificence unknown to the more temperate manners of this country. Every knee became flexible at their approach, and the ready homage they received from millions, was more the spontaneous tribute of generous affection than the servile adulation of an enslaved multitude. Contrast their former glory with their present forlorn and wretched condition! Examine the history of their profligate, spendthrift lives, and tremble at the

consequences ! Behold their persons proscribed by common consent, through the vast extent of territory, in which they were once idolized : their claims to distinction treated with laughter and derision ; their affluence exchanged for beggary ; the acclamations of joy with which they were every where saluted, converted into the most poignant reproaches ; and their birth, titles, and rank treated with mockery and contempt : whichever way they turn, disgrace and infamy stare them in the face : they have not even the miserable consolation of being pitied, and if every thing can possibly add to the accumulated calamities, under which these wretched outcasts wander from place to place, it is that the better part of mankind approves of the punishment they have received for their aggravated guilt, folly, and depravity. Their history, Sir, should serve as a MIRROR to Kings and Princes : these may behold in the conduct of the former, the destiny they may expect by following to ruinous an example. It is from the adversities of others, Sir, as well as from our own, that the most instructive lessons for our conduct in life are derived ; and whatever tends to convince mankind of the *instability* of fortune, deserves their most serious attention. The sad reverse which the French Princes have experienced ought not to be an unprofitable lesson to your Royal Highness ; and for-

give me, Sir, if I add that the people on whom you have so unreasonably called a *second* time to discharge engagements which duty, as well as honor and gratitude, forbade you to contract, have an interest much greater than you suspect that the example of France should be a warning to you and your family—Is it not a reproach: I will not say to your justice, but to your prudence, that you should again call on the bounty of the nation to administer to your extravagance, in the very midst of an arduous and perilous war, avowedly undertaken to secure that Constitution on the preservation of which you are dependent for food and raiment? Is it not as extraordinary, Sir, as it is lamentable and unaccountable, that with the very terrible example before you in a neighbouring nation that you should have pertinaciously, nay criminally adhered to the same system of disorderly and unjustifiable expence which contributed to shake, and finally to subvert the Throne of Louis XVIth? Is it decent; nay, Sir, is it honest in you to expect, for the mere gratification of your vanity, that any addition should be made to the accumulated burdens of this country, at the very instant that the genius of finance, exhausted and despirited, is compelled to accept of private donations from corporations, and even from individuals of all ranks, to carry on a contest, the great object of which is

to preserve you and your family from ruin? Is it not a reproach to your feelings, Sir, that you are soliciting an enormous sum from Parliament, amounting to near a million, to discharge debts wantonly contracted, and for which not even the shadow of an excuse can be urged, while every nobleman and gentleman in the British dominions, while tradesmen, mechanics, and manufacturers, while even the labouring poor have relinquished a portion of their scanty pittance, and all of them have generously contributed to the very extent of their means, to the defence of their country?

Will it, can it be believed by posterity, that while all ranks and descriptions of men, vying with each other in a laudable zeal for the common cause, sacrificed the comforts of life and a part of their property; while munificent subscriptions were cheerfully opened in every country, town, village, and hamlet in the kingdom, to enable the Minister to prosecute the war with vigor and effect. or to alleviate the calamities of those who became victims to it, that the Royal Family of England should *alone* have remained insensible to the calls of humanity and of patriotism, and that one of them in particular, uninfluenced by so many animating examples of public virtue, should require a portion of the money raised for the exigencies of the State to be appropriated, not for the fair and honest pur-

poses of his dignified establishment, but to discharge a variety of engagement which he dares not reveal, and which Parliament is bound in justice and in policy to resist? Is it not strange, Sir, that your name does not appear in any one of the public subscriptions to which the perilous conflict in which we are involved, or the unexampled distress of the times has given birth? We are told that the laudable institution for the relief of the widows and children of our gallant seamen and soldiers is under your patronage, as if a charity of that nature and extent stood in need of any patronage but that of the public! There is indeed to every advertisement that appears from the society, a vain and servile display of your name, unworthy of the committee and of the institution but the barren privilege of affixing a name no longer respectable, is the sum total of your contribution! Surely, Sir, you must strangely have misconceived your relative situation with the people as well as the generally received maxims of right and expediency, or you would never have come forward with a claim as imprudent as it is hazardous and unjust, and which, with all the circumstances annexed to it, looks as if you considered the wealth and industry of the nation as your property, and that we hold the honest fruits of our labour, or the more ample possessions of inheritance not in fee, but as *stewards in trust*

for your sole profit and use. It is time, Sir, that you should be recalled from the errors of your education and of bad habits. It is time that you should be awakened from the delusion in which it is impossible you can continue without inevitable ruin to yourself and mischief to the nation. Every individual is interested in the success of this forcible appeal to your rectitude and discretion, and if you are wise, you will prove by the regularity of your future conduct, that the appeal has been made to a man *worthy* of the situation into which the accident of birth has thrown him. In May 1787, a message from the King was delivered to Parliament, on the subject of your debts amounting to ONE HUNDRED and NINETY-THREE THOUSANDS, SIX HUNDRED and FORTY EIGHT POUNDS. The sum was considered as enormous and the people as little satisfied with the part you had taken in politics as with your transactions in private life, expressed their disapprobation of your conduct in terms which would have suggested to any well constructed mind the inestimable value of reputation. Your youth and inexperience were however urged in your behalf, and the unsuspecting generosity attached to the British character inducing the legislature to confide in the solemn assurance given by Majesty, itself that *your Royal Highness would avoid contracting any*

debts in future. The sum of one hundred and eighty one thousand pounds were voted, which, with the retrenchments *promised* and *expelled*, was thought would effectually release you from your present, and preserve you from all future embarrassments.— I shall not be reproached, Sir, with presumption, when I assert that no authority, however respectable should operate against *matter of fact*. I will even go farther, and maintain that it ceases to be respectable the instant it endeavours to evade truth or to promote falsehood.

Your Royal Father, in 1787, stood pledged to the nation (of whose loyalty, affection, and liberality he has received abundant proofs) that you would not again trespass on its bounty, yet in April 1795—in less than eight years, His Majesty, in violation of his royal word, comes forward with a pitious tale of woe, and solicits the country (laboring under the pressure of accumulated burdens, and engaged in a contest of the most serious nature) for a sum very little short of a million, to discharge

[“ And His Majesty has the satisfaction to observe, that the Prince had given the fullest assurance of his determination to confine his future expences within his income, and had settled a plan and fixed an order in those expences which, it was trusted, could effectually secure the execution of his intentions.

King's Message, May 1787.]

a fresh catalogue of debts which, it was promised, should never be contracted.

I pass over the pretended sale of horses, at the former epoch, and a variety of other indecent practices, which announced as little *delicacy* as *integrity*, in those who counselled such mean and dishonorable expedients. I have not the least objection, that the scandalous histories attached to Newmarket, and all the little contrivances to abuse the credulous simplicity of the Nation, should be buried in oblivion. The times have most woefully demonstrated, that *Princes* as well as *Plebeians*, may stand in need of an *act of Grace*, and my justice is not of that inexorable nature, as to insist on the full measure of punishment, even to the greatest delinquents. — *This act of Grace*, you have received, and I am willing to allow, after the most vigorous investigation of your character, that your claim to the indulgence shewn to you, at the time, and since, shamefully abused, was very admissible. Yet with every disposition to pass over the transactions of that period I cannot excuse your subsequent conduct — I believe, that if better maxims had been instilled into you by those who had the charge of your education, or if you had been taught in later life to form a just estimate of the obligation you owe to society, that there would have been no occasion for this address, or for those severe, but necessary animadversions in

observe, that the determination to, and had settled a, which, it was trusted, intentions.

ge, May 1787.]

parliament, which have offended your pride: But your having been *ill advised* by some men, and *misled* by others, can never justify the demand which has been made on this country for the enormous sum of SEVEN HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS and which I am afraid (considerable as it is) will scarce pay Ten Shillings in the Pound, on the sum total of your debts! I am really incompetent to guess, what arguments, even the minister, with his splendid talents can urge in excuse for a demand, which in times less profligate and corrupt, would be called *flagitious*; his situation is embarrassing—The dilemma to which he is reduced by the ruthless junction of prodigality and rapacity, is certainly distressing, and even your Royal Highness may venture to feel for his perplexities, without being suspected of affection or respect for the man.—It was impossible that Mr. Pitt could refuse to deliver the message respecting your debts, (unjust and ill-timed as it was) without a direct breach with his Sovereign, and the hazard of exposing the Country at a very critical period, to the danger of another inter-regnum! while on the other hand, by complying with the commands of his Majesty, he was certain of obtaining a portion of that odium which belongs, almost exclusively, to yourself. I think too favourably of your temper and disposition, Sir, to suppose that you can receive any gratification

from the very awkward predicament in which you have contrived to place the man, who incurred your displeasure some years since, by resisting a claim, the admission of which, would have endangered the empire; but if your Royal Highness should bear in vindictive remembrance the opposition you met with at that time from his firmness and fidelity. (If you should harbour any resentment in your mind, for his manly and dignified conduct in the affair of the Regency, your revenge must have been amply gratified, by the ungracious task which has been imposed on him, of applying to Parliament on your behalf for money, to discharge improvident debts, and Jew bargains, at the very instant he could not obtain sufficient for the defence of the empire without adding very considerably to the innumerable taxes, by which the Nation is most oppressively and shamefully burthened?—Mr. Pitt may have acted prudently, in hazarding his fame and popularity in preference to the risque of leaving the country a *second time* without a government.—The concession may have averted a calamity of much greater extent than subscribing to, or in other words encouraging your excesses, but if he has pledged himself to support the unpalatable measure in parliament with all the credit, influence, and authority of office, he has done more than he ought to have done, and no longer deserves to be the

minister of this country.—It must be matter of sincere affliction, Sir, to every man who has a just estimate of the excellence of the British Constitution, and whose loyalty to your family is neither servile nor assumed, but rational and unaffected, that the King should have been so ill advised as to apply to parliament to relieve you a *second time*, from pecuniary difficulties, after a positive assurance in 1787, that “ *he would not have desired or expected the assistance of the House of Commons, but on a well grounded expectation that your Royal Highness would avoid contracting any debts in future.*” This declaration, Sir, ill accords with the message deliver’d by the chancellor of the Exchequer on the 27th of last month, and which, from the *manner* it was received, and the *comments* it excited, must have produced very unpleasant sensations in his Majesty’s breast—I do not wish to add to the poignancy of his feelings on an occasion so distressing, but the measure was certainly injudicious, if not hazardous, that brought on a discussion from which no credit could possibly result to *your* character, and which *policy* should have compelled you to avoid, at a moment like the present, when the onerous establishment of Monarchy is invidiously contrasted with the moderate expences of a Government, less complicated and splendid, and (which is really worthy of your most serious consideration) His Majesty in giving way to a ten-

derness *ill bestowed*, has made it a question with a very considerable part of the community, whether *he* has shewn that attention to the embarrassed situation of the country, which the people have a RIGHT to expect from their sovereign? It is possible that this indiscreet anxiety to extricate you from difficulties resulting from riot and extravagance, may diminish that love and veneration which a loyal and generous nation has hitherto demonstrated for your family; nor can it be attributed to caprice or disaffection, if the marked, and scandalous indifference, which a life of dissipation evinces for the miseries of mankind, should weaken that respect for your Royal Highness, which you have been taught to consider as a *tribute* due to your birth. Is it not a reproach to your justice as well as to your prudence, Sir, (for you are no longer an infant, neither can you plead ignorance or inexperience in excuse for your excesses) that your debts amounting to ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY THREE THOUSAND, SIX HUNDRED AND FORTY EIGHT POUNDS* in the Year 1787, and for the *discharging* of which you received

* Vide the Annual Register for 1787, page 120, for the item of *first* debt.---The items of second it is thought will never appear.

that sum from the ill requited bounty of the Nation, should have grown in the short period of eight years to the monstrous and unpardonable size of a **MILLION?**

Is it not an impeachment at once of your gratitude and understanding, Sir, to expect that the people who so cheerfully contributed to your support, and who have already subscribed most liberally to your ease, splendor, and independance, should lay themselves under additional imposts because you have been imprudent, or something worse?

Is it not a reproach to your feelings, Sir, that while the middle and lower orders of society can with difficulty obtain the common necessaries of life; while the aggregate taxes which every individual pays to the exigencies of the State, amount to, at least, seventeen shillings in the pound, and that while the laborious poor,* smarting under the

* The miserable peasant, destitute of every resource but industry to support his wretched offspring, and even that resource (poor and scanty as it is) a contingency on his health and capacity for labor, must toil hard for the solitary shilling with which he daily feeds and clothes his helpless family. It has repeatedly fallen within my observation, since the commencement of this letter, to behold in a variety of instances, this extreme distress, aggravated by the illness or infirmity,

severe pressure of hunger, have been forced, in order to prolong a wretched existence, into insurrections of a very serious and alarming nature, that you, insensible to their deplorable condition, and to the accumulated calamities which mark the present time, should come to Parliament, and require those burdens to be increased, and those calamities to be augmented without producing any one voucher that could justify Parliament to the nation for so

of the children to whom, as well as to their hapless parents, existence appears to be every thing but a blessing. Contrast their deplorable condition with your own exalted state! Recollect how much you are indebted to chance for the superiority of your fortunes, and remembering that these men are your fellow creatures; possessing, in common with yourself, a right to the common necessities and enjoyments of life, let me ask you, Sir, if you can, without blushing, demand, exclusive of the very ample income allowed you by the nation, a sum that would comfortably maintain, in perpetuity, **ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED** of these very people whose afflictions you would increase, and whose morsel of bread you would embitter and render more difficult to obtain, in order to defray your extravagance? Sir; it is against reason; it is against justice, humanity, and right; it is against your personal interest and security, that a disproportion so scandalous and unnatural should exist between MAN and MAN! God never designed it; and the Government that authorises or connives at the abuse, hazards its tranquillity or existence. It is no abatement of the sufferings and agonising sorrows of the famish cottager, that the portion of happiness is not more diffused among the higher than it is among the lower orders of society. It is no alleviation of his distress that while he is pa-

layish a grant of the public money? Will your Royal Highness reveal the disgraceful items which have swelled your present debt to a sum which renders your application for its payment as preposterous as it is indecent and inconsiderate? I am sure you will not, and for the best of all possible reasons, because

YOU DARE NOT!

rising of hunger, your Royal Highness is exposed to numberless vexations and disappointments. The chagrin and anger provoked by pride, mortified, or your ill health arising from intemperance, afford him no consolation in the hour of calamity; they administer no comfort to his mind, and afford no drawback to his grief or misfortune. They furnish neither food nor raiment to his starving, ragged offspring, nor shield his ill thatched hovel from the rude blasts of winter. It is, therefore, sophistry to say that the magnificence in which your life is but a splendid rascality which amply recompenses him for the difference of his fortune; nor is it argument to say, that because you are wretched, he ought to be happy; for it is only a base and vindictive malice that can derive consolation or joy from the miseries of another. Would you wish, Sir, to have your demand protected by the causes that produced it? Would you hazard a proclamation that should announce to the MILLION who subscribe to your maintenance, that the splendid allowance of **ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS** a year is inadequate to your support, and that the sum (ample as it is) must be doubled? I do not think, Sir, that you would consent to say such statement. Yet, whether you decline it from modesty or from fear, the injustice and indecency of taxing so much money from the required wealth of the country, will not be less prominent, and you will do well to abandon what you cannot demand as a right, and which the most servile of your dependants will not venture to assert you are entitled to receive as a favour.

I will not inquire whether the money advanced in 1787 was faithfully applied to the ostensible purposes for which it was asked and granted. Neither will I inquire whether those economical arrangements took place for which you stood pledged to Parliament and your country. Nor is it necessary, the message delivered to the House of Commons on the 27th of last month is a sufficient answer to every question of the kind; it is a direct and evident violation of the contract in its most *essential* part, and enables us to ascertain, with almost mathematical precision, the fidelity with which *the other conditions of the bond* have been fulfilled; but though I am willing to spare you the mortification which detected fallacy must ever feel whether it is found in a cottage or a palace; although I forbear, from motives of affection and loyalty to your family, to enter into a scrutiny which certainly would not tend to inspire the people with a love of royalty, I feel no difficulty in asserting that, considering all the circumstances attending your present incumbrances, the *mode* in which, and the *purposes* for which they were contracted, with the positive assurance from Majesty itself that no future claim of the kind should ever be brought forward, that the House of Commons cannot vote for the payment of your debts without being guilty of a breach of trust, and forfeiting the confidence of the nation!

THE LETTERS OF NEPTUNE

TO THE

PRINCE OF WALES,

July, 1784.

SIR,

While your irregularities were confined within the circle of juvenile indiscretions, and your conduct could be accounted for in the natural progress of the passions, your excesses, numerous as they have been, excited indeed our wonder, but never provoked our indignation. We beheld you emerge from the nursery with even paternal affection; every heart was devoted to your interest; and it was neither difficult nor unworthy of you to have preserved those prejudices which had been generously formed in your favor. The intemperance of your youth gave no offence; and in the commencement of your career, it was never once suspected that we should have occasion to execrate the object whom we adored.

Such, Sir, were the advantages under which you entered into society; and give me leave to inform you that you must have been extremely indefatigable to have effaced so effectually those favorable

impressions, and to have changed the current of opinion against you in so short a time.

To your imprudent choice of friends may be attributed your present painful situation.

It was your misfortune to select those for your companions who, having neither fortune nor character to lose, were ready to conduct you into all the extravagancies of the meanest and most dangerous debaucheries.—Their profligacy rendered them the willing panders to your pleasures, while their poverty involved you in their profusion and necessities. The nation feels the consequences of these complicated evils, and beholds with equal astonishment and indignation, a progress uncommonly rapid from bad to worse, and which may eventually terminate in serious mischief to yourself and your country.—It must have been no less mortifying to your royal father than disgraceful to yourself, that the first public act of your life was distinguished by an indecent opposition to the measures of his Government and the constitutional rights of his Crown.—It would be difficult to account for the motives of so decided and so extraordinary a conduct, if the party with whom you have condescended to associate, had not revealed the conditions of your contract.—The engagements on your part have been executed with the most active and pointed fidelity, with a firmness which

has triumphed over every obligation of filial duty and respect, and rendered you insensible to the general interests of your fellow citizens.—I will pass over the moral turpitude of irritating a son against a father: the infamy of the action will decidedly fall on the incendiaries, but the sad consequences resulting from a conduct so atrocious, may ultimately affect the peace and prosperity of the nation: that has a claim on your gratitude in return for the splendor and liberality with which it supports you.

To those who have abused your simplicity and inexperience, I have little to say. Long habits have rendered them incorrigible, and admonitions become useless, where there is neither shame nor sentiments to give them force. Is it possible, Sir, that those who have had the important charge of your education, could have concealed from your knowledge the forms and spirit of the constitution? Is it necessary to inform you, that before the man to whom you look up can perform his promise, two events not very likely to happen must positively take place? He must be restored to power in the first instance—and in the second, the NATION must consent to the increase of income with which you have been flattered and deluded.

The public, Sir, are under no obligation to discharge those debts which your profusion has

created; nor is it very probable that, considering the deplorable state of their finances, they will be easily prevailed upon to enlarge an income already sufficient for all the honest purposes of your present establishment.

These circumstances, perhaps, have been artfully concealed from you, as well as the impoverished state of the kingdom, which will not admit of a wanton and unnecessary expenditure of the public money.—The war with America, ruinous in every respect, idly begun and more idly conducted, has oppressed the people with innumerable taxes, and rendered them almost incapable of sustaining any additional burthens. Yet, the author of this unfortunate and disgraceful war, whom you have every reason to execrate, is honored with your confidence, and destitute of pride and integrity, we find him content to act a servile and subordinate part to the man who has repeatedly menaced him with impeachment and the block! The calamities occasioned by the weak and corrupt administration of his Lordship will terminate only with the empire; they will be felt to the latest period of our political existence. The millions squandered in obtaining majorities in both Houses of Parliament will render a system of the strictest economy indispensable: and these truths, too obvious to be

unknown to you, should at least have taught you to restrain your extravagance.

The plea of youth affords you no excuse. You stand in a different predicament from that of a private gentleman. His person and property are answerable for the debts he contracts; bankruptcy and a prison terminate his career, and the nation feels no inconvenience from his follies—but you, Sir, have *no property*; your annual income is an annual donation which may be withdrawn or withheld; and whatever your wretched associates may assert to the contrary, the people of England will never submit to recompense those who injure and insult them!

It is a maxim, Sir, universally admitted, that the people should have but *one* opinion of their Sovereign; and this maxim holds equally good when applied to the presumptive Heir to the Crown. It would be an idle waste of time to explain to you what that opinion ought to be. Those to whom your education has been confided cannot possibly have permitted you to advance to maturity in utter ignorance of so important a truth.

It is impossible, Sir, that you can be unacquainted with the public opinion respecting your conduct! You have learned it in the well founded, though intemperate, reprobation of the people, whose honest indignation, provoked by your com-

placated offences, have forced them to violate the limits of respect and decency, and hurt their sentiments in your very face.—I know that you have been taught to despise the public opinion, and that the unrelenting labours of your little Pandemonium have been exerted to inspire you with a contempt for popular applause. Adopt the idea, and your future life will be miserable—be assured, Sir, that popularity is the best security for a Prince.

It is not so fluctuating as you have been told. Private individuals have found it precarious because it has been generously advanced to them on the credit of professions which they never intended to realise, and they have sunk into obscurity on their impostures being discovered. But this is justice, not caprice.—Professions of patriotism are unnecessary where the power exists of carrying them into immediate execution. Our opinion of you will ever be regulated by your conduct. Deserve well, and you will never have occasion to reproach the multitude with inconstancy or want of affection. Unhappily, Sir, the bias of your education has given way to bad example.

To fall into the hands of pimps, gamblers and prostitutes, is among the common accidents to which every young man is exposed on his entering into society, and may be easily corrected: but you, Sir, disdaining the progressive stages to dishonour,

started from the nursery into public life, the very prop and hero of faction, and attached yourself to men of ruined fortunes, and characters who, under the sanction of your countenance, have attempted to annihilate at once the prerogative of the Crown and the rights of their fellow citizens.

You have, however, had the mortification to find that the credit of your name could not avail them. They have been driven from power with every mark of ignominy; and experience must have convinced you that it was impossible to be connected with them without partaking of their infamy.

To war against experience is to give defeat; the preference to conquest and to hold honor and happiness at defiance. Believe me, Sir, the people are not to be awed, by the splendor of your rank, into an approbation of your errors, much less will they be disposed to support them, and you will do well to remember that it is among the most common maxims of prudence to avoid those contests in which much may be lost and nothing can be gained.

If the various excesses into which you have plunged with a precipitancy unexampled in the annals of this country, have involved you in pecuniary difficulties, you have no right to call upon the nation to extricate you.

I am very far from wishing you to be confined

within the scanty limits of a penurious income. I would have it fully equal to your exalted birth and expectations; but in fixing your establishment, an attention must be paid to the finances of the nation. The former must ever depend upon the latter, and it may perhaps be matter of information to you, that every new tax under our enormous load of debt is an advance towards a revolution.

This is a serious and an alarming truth which should awaken you to a sense of economy for the sake of yourself and family, should you have no regard for the empire to which you have an hereditary claim.

The political relation which you have to the Constitution gives the meanest of your fellow citizens an interest in your conduct. The fate of millions is involved in that of yours, and the danger to be apprehended from your conduct and long-established habits is sufficient to alarm even confidence itself. Unhappily, Sir, the people, anxious to avert the mischiefs with which they are threatened, have in vain endeavoured to shame you out of riot and bad company, to recall you to a sense of your dignity, and to the consideration of those tenures by which the imperial diadem of Britain is held.

You cannot be uninformed that the violation of them cost one Monarch his life, and another his

Crown; but it may not be amiss to remind you that you are liable to the same penalties.

When you imprudently embarked in the service of opposition, it did not occur to you, perhaps, that it ought to be an invariable maxim with every branch of the Royal Family to observe the strictest neutrality towards the various factions which are perpetually contending for an ascendancy in the Government; but since your fatal and disgraceful alliance with men of the worst and most profligate characters in the kingdom, it has been the principal object of their attention, to seduce you from the consideration of a truth no less obvious than important, by plunging you into all the excesses of expensive, riot and dissipation as if it had been their first determination that your ruin should precede that of the empire.

Your intimacies, no less mean than dishonourable with such men, have not only excited an alarm among all ranks of people at home, but become the table talk at every tavern and coffee-house on the continent, where you are more censured for your want of pride than for your want of prudence; and while foreigners behold with scorn and astonishment the heir of Britain degrading himself below even the meanest of his worthless companions, your fellow citizens lament, with the most affectionate

concern, your obstinate attachment to men who have neither talents, integrity, nor manners.

A momentary reflection would be sufficient to awaken you to a sense of your situation, but your associates, aware of the danger of leaving you to yourself, here artfully contrived to keep you in the worst of dissipations, lest a lucid interval should restore you from the delirium of pleasure to the exercise of your understanding.

They are conscious that they must finish whenever you have the virtue to resume yourself, and they do well to keep you in profound ignorance of the dangers which surround you.

In the black catalogue of their aggravated guilt, the infamy of playing off the son against the father is not the least criminal and ingenious—it is perfectly consistent with their principles, and favorable to their designs to render the former a dupe to their artifices and the latter a cypher in his dominions; but as millions are involved in your fate, it is impossible but the clamours of the multitude will force their way through the sturdy and beggarly phalanx with which you have guarded Carleton House, and counsel you to acknowledge a truth which filial duty, independent of every political obligation, ought to have suggested to you.

Recollect, Sir, the history of the two men who would arrogate to themselves the first offices of the state, and tremble for the consequences of your ex-

traordinary partiality. Recollect that one of them, in time of profound peace, excited a civil war in the distant provinces, by reviving a claim which had been abandoned as impracticable 8 years before. The colonists, standing on the adamantine pillars of the Constitution, asserted that taxation and representation were inseparable. A negative was sounded from the shores of America as from the voice of Jove, nor has the thunder of the British arms been able to cancel the irrevocable fiat of truth and justice. Fleets and armies were transported, at an enormous expence, to recover by violence what had been lost by folly; but as the war was as ill conducted as it was wantonly begun, the events of the contest were the absolute loss of America, a ruinous war with three great maritime powers of Europe, a diminution of commerce, revenue and dominion, and an increase of taxes which puzzles the ingenuity of finance to raise ever sufficient to pay the interest of the money voted for the support of Government.

Is it to this wretched politician who has deprived his country of an extent of territory equal to half of Europe, that you wish to give your confidence? Is this blusterer in politics, whose capacity and views extended no farther than the management of his mercenaries, and who vainly thought that if he could triumph in Parliament he could triumph every where else—Is this great

luminary whom we now see fallen from his sphere, and moving as one of the satellites in the circle of an inferior planet, that one performed a subordinate course round his bright orb, to be again called forth into public life, that he may complete the ruin which he began?

Is it this great minister, degraded into a mean and servile dependance on the very man who menaced him with the block in the zenith of his power, for the complicated crimes of venality, treachery, and corruption that is to work our political salvation?—Shame upon such folly!

Is it to such a man, Sir, that you are so anxious to confide the safety of the nation? Impossible! Were you to pronounce it in my presence, I should question the fidelity of my ears. Is it from a junction so unnatural that the most valuable appendage of the British Empire is to be preserved from following the ruinous example of America? or can you seriously believe that a pyebald ministry, composed of odds and ends and men of straw, can possibly restore this country to her former splendor? You may reckon to eternity, Sir, but all the cyphers in the universe will never make an unit.

America torn from us by the very root; Ireland on the eve of revolt, and Scotland beating the loud drum of discontent to the barren Orkneys, exhibit a very gloomy and humiliating prospect; while a faction in the center of the kingdom, under

the sanction of your authority, is indefatigably employed in bringing their Sovereign and the measures of his Government into disrepute? Are you to be informed, at this period, that your very existence depends upon that of the Empire? Our acres will remain to us through every change that can possibly happen; we have only to transfer our allegiance; but a revolution consigns you to beggary and exile. In such a moment of calamity, you will not only find yourself without property, but without friends; and the vermin who, at present, bask in the sun-shine of your favor, will be the first to abandon you to the rigor of your fate.

Let us, however, hope that an event so melancholy to the kingdom and ruinous to yourself, will be prevented by a timely attention to the obligations which you owe to your country and your family.

Consider what you have at stake, and banish from your confidence and society a set of men whose pernicious councils and profligate manners have done equal injury to the power and the morals of the nation.

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